/347 cont./

433 224 184 [417] between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnographer will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him, they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

294 411 184 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, represent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is [433] scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for [126] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of [425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

857 868 224 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shooting with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 [126] Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I 287 439 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text Continues on P. 91]

/473/

Chapter XIII

Toys and Games

524 [126] All the toys which Chiriguano parents make for their children or the latter put together themselves are represented in my collections. Nevertheless, I consider it useless to give a description of them, for Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 193-200) has been greatly /Fig. 133 appears here/ concerned with this and has reproduced all of them. Simply as a curiosity I sketch a doll clothed in the traditional tipoy and the hair of which is intertwined with a ribbon in the Chiriguano manner (Fig. 133). A little bag (Fig. 134) contains a whole assortment of tipoy in miniature. Minuscule vessels and baskets (Fig. 109) have been made for the use of little girls, who, in playing, thus learn little by little to become excellent housewives. [868]

String figures. I have never seen children make string figures (cat-craddle /cat's cradle/), but I know they are acquainted with them. At Cururutí an Indian amused himself by executing a whole series for me, some of which were sewn by the Indians themselves onto the leaves of my notebook. According to the figure they wanted to produce, they used both hands or helped with the mouth and feet (Figs. 135 and 136). The "full moon" (Plate XXXIX, 3) /Fig. 134 appears here/ was made by my Indian who, having sat down, used feet and hands.

524 121 String figures have extraordinary interest from the point of view of comparative ethnography. If they prove themselves identical in two different regions, they can testify to trade or migrations, like certain games which pass from one region to the other without modifying their character or modalities. Games are the most stable of all cultural elements since they are independent of the environment, race, or way of life, at least in general. It is urgent to collect in South America /474/ the greatest possible number of string figures in order to be able to study their distribution. For this continent we know only a very small number, but this, insignificant as it may be, already allows us to establish some very curious facts.

[Text Continues on p. 346]

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855 The child grows up in his sight with all the imperfections of little lambs or kids, because that is also the way in which he, the father, grew up.

855 462 When children of either sex are still in swaddling clothes, they receive the care of the mother, the grandmother, or other women who may be very closely related. It is unusual for a man to take care of newborn children, both because this is natural in all the countries of the world and because it would offend his dignity. But when the child begins to open his eyes well and to have some understanding of external things, he takes it in his arms with all the love that the child in its innocence inspires.

But the one who normally cares for the children of both sexes until the age of six or seven years is the mother. She washes them, bathes them, puts them to sleep, nurses them, takes them from one place to another, carrying them in the folds of her clothes. The father only helps at this task when the mother cannot attend to it because she has others, or because she is busy making chicha, preparing food, etc. (1).

1. If there is no mother because of death or for some other reason, the man finds himself in a difficult situation with regard to his children and quickly seeks out a female relative.

• 868 School of Arms and Strategy

At the age of seven years and even sooner, the father takes special charge of his male child, with the girls remaining in the charge of the mother; he makes for his son a bow and arrow suitable for his age and strength and begins to train him, teaching him to use them and the way to aim and shoot (2).

2. The father takes his son to the woods, where he begins to hunt little birds, and, if he manages to get some, he takes them

/219 cont./

•868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 554 463

1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

868 852 239

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians [554] who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

721 726 797 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

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859 868 The boys have different ways of learning how to be accurate in shooting arrows and to be good hunters and brave warriors. In the field or in the woods they amuse themselves usefully, ambushing and taking as a target little birds and even grasshoppers when there are any, and when they go back home they give proof of their manliness by sticking the arrow into the mortar in which their mother customarily grinds maize.

859 868 526 [411] [824] When the boys gather together in the town, they learn the use of the arrow, shooting it at a wooden wheel which one of them makes roll as fast as he can. This wheel is made of a type of round cactus which grows a cuarta or a little more and is called Zipepe. The boys, armed with arrows, line up, and the best one will succeed in driving his into the soft material of the zipepe. /221/ The zipepe is at the same time a school for target shooting and a game; of the latter they have 524 others which I shall name in passing. They have the Pinono, top. This is different from that of the towns of the Republic. It is a small gourd with a hole in the middle in the upper part. When they spin it, the air produces a prolonged sound like that of little calves who are lowing very gently, and from this comes its name, Pinono.

Another game for young and old is pelota, which has a definite season. This is when there is fresh maize, or the cold is beginning to be felt. They call it Topo, and it is done with the husk of fresh maize; thus, when the fresh maize season ends, the game of pelota also ends, and they amuse themselves with many other games that they have (1).

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1. These will not be listed because this is not the subject of this chapter, and in addition it would be very tiring for the reader.

raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less. Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, because it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the effects of conception during her marriage.

When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less harshly: her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

/223 cont./

881 The young girl receives her mother's injunctions without
868 uttering a word, without making any comment, respects the
867 advice and admonishments in the same silence and more than
283 that of a mute, because she hears and keeps quiet without making any movement at all, without raising her eyes or moving her head. She begins her work as soon as her mother withdraws: she combs the wool or cotton with her fingers, cleans it of /224/ whatever dirt it may contain, and begins to spin, a duty learned from early childhood (1).

[785]

1. The maiden who fasts can only work in the place where she is enclosed: therefore she cannot help her mother even to clean the house.

881 When her mother sees that she has enough to make some
868 small article, she directs the weaving, and the first thing
867 that is made is the Hapicuana for her father and then another
286 for her mother, with which they are very happy, and even their friends congratulate them on the work of the daughter, for whom they, of course, profess sympathy and respect as a sacred person, because she is in the period of fasting or hiding, since both things are done when these maidens reach puberty (2).

2. The same word, Ycuacu, is used for the fasts ordered by the Church for neophytes. There is no other word in the language.

881 During the first month or first moon, Yasi, the seclusion
885 or hiding is the most rigorous, because the symptoms of puberty should manifest themselves two times in order that they may be considered true ones, that is to say, the Chiriguano do not believe that a woman is ready for marriage until after it has been ascertained that her menstruation is regular. This, which for women is their relief and their health, is called Hugüi in adults, but for pubescent girls the first as well as the second is called, as I have already said, Yimundía.

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Modern Farming and Seeds

241 177 [407] Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been substituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally they help those who have no sons; the missionary provides them with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they are very poor.

The neophytes in most of the Potosí missions have learned to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with all the perfection that these implements require. It is satisfying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in exchange double daily wages (1).

[868] [409] [231] 46

> 1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen; it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243 262 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

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797 87 868 191 177 Should this method be followed, in a few years nobody would know that the mission Chiriguano belong to the race, because little by little the parents would teach their children the Spanish language, as I have already seen them do in the San Pascual de Boicovo Mission, and, if the morality still leaves something to be desired, later perhaps by means of preaching, the advice of the missionary, and the example of those who are good, all will be corrected. Semen est verbum Dei; it does not fall upon completely sterile ground (1).

797 177 1/ The San Pascual de Boicovo Mission is so advanced in every respect that application has been made for it to be promoted to the rank of parish. In language, clothing, and behavior they differ little from the whites.

797 291 177 Almost from the beginning the schoolgirls were forbidden the use of the tipoy, being forced to dress in the same way as the women residents of the nearby towns; today they are very accustomed to the said clothing and do not change it for any reason in the world in the missions; only those girls who run away and even practically denounce their religion dress in the tipoy again, like the infidels, in order not to be recognized. By means of the teaching of the Catholic religion, the learning of the national language, and the change in clothing, the transformation is continually taking place, until little by little the distinction between the races will disappear, by means of the union of their tastes.

What the missionaries have done for the clothing of the girls, they are also doing for that of the boys, trying to make it decent. For both boys and girls, so long as they reside in the schools, the missionary of each mission provides their clothing, having it brought from some departmental capital and distributing it free of charge twice and even three times a year, or when he sees the needs of each student. In this way, after they are married, they themselves work in order to continue dressing in the same fashion or better than when they were in school, since some also wear socks /botines/ and shoes, and there are a number of women who

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untranslatable. Not infrequently a nickname is added to this name. Thus, for example, the Chané chief Boyra (Boy-snake) was called yúruhuasu, which means big-mouth. Indeed, old Boyra was a talker who had a great weakness for everything that was a bit indecent.

Mothers nurse for an unusually long time, and it is several years, as a rule, before they have another child. Perhaps the woman also aborts the fruit of her womb occasionally, like the Choroti woman, so that the family will not become too burdened.

In the mission station in Ivu I tried to gather statistics about the number of surviving children in 127 Chiriguano marriages and found that in ten marriages there were no children, in 27 one, in 35 two, in 29 three, in 13 four, in 9 five, and in 4 six. These figures, however, are quite uncertain. Nevertheless they show that here, as among many other Indian tribes, there is a sort of two-children system.

Corrado (2) maintains with certainty that infanticide occurs among the Chiriguano. It is done in desperate cases among us, too, and therefore the example cited by Corrado means nothing. The question is: does /209/ infanticide and abortion occur as an institution accepted by the tribe, as among the Choroti? /Fig. 110 appears here./

2. Corrado: El Colegio Franciscano De Traija y sus misiones. Quaracci, 1884. Pages 526-527.

The Chané and Chiriguano children, as has been mentioned, are brought up in freedom. They spend their childhood playing. Gradually the child begins to help its parents in small matters, for example, in carrying water and wood, tying up /210/ the domestic animals, fishing, etc. The girls learn spinning, weaving, making clay vessels, brewing maize beer, etc. from their mothers. They learn everything by imitation. The boys pursue small birds around the village and in this way learn the use of weapons. The children accompany their parents to fish and to till. The boy

6: Nordenskiöld--62 E-S (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
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accompanies his father on the hunt and feels extraordinarily proud and clever if he is allowed to go home with the "common" hunting booty. The children see and learn. It is fun for them to help father and mother.

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Fig. 110. Chané boy. Río Parapití.
He has arrows with blunt tips in his hand.

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[797]

How different is the child-rearing in the missions, which is based on spying and tattling.

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Motherless children are taken in by relatives. Here, too, one not infrequently sees older aunts caressing the children of others.

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

C 361 592 I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

337. Nord. 1, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.